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BOLSHEVISM

A LECTURE

BY

Rev. John W. Hamilton

Rector of Louth

VINELAND,

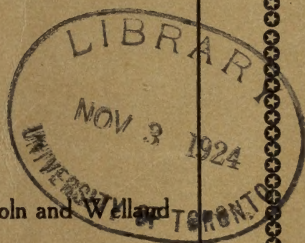
ONTARIO

Delivered before the Deanery of Lincoln and Welland

AT

Welland, January 20th, 1921

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To treat such a subject as that which falls under the word Bolshevism is indeed a task. For one wishes to avoid the danger of giving, as is so often done, only one or two aspects of this great problem.

At the same time the subject is so vast and complex, that to give a comprehensive idea of the whole requires a mind capable of grasping such a variety of conglomerate details, and of subjugating and simplifying so many elements; that it would seem impossible in so small a compass to give any intelligent view and explanation of the forces that have been, and are instrumental in bringing about the realization in practice of that, which but a few years ago was considered the neurotic and morbid ranting of a number of unbalanced fanatics.

While Bolshevism has become identified with Russia; we must not forget that the enemy against whom the exponents of this system, known as Communism, have pitted themselves is none other than the world itself. There is a saying very common in the near East, "That where the Turkish hoof has trod, no grass will grow," and it would seem that a travesty of this is the watch-word of the Bolsheviks that "where the Capitalist's hoof has trod no grass can grow."

To have an adequate grasp therefore of this subject, one must know something of the conditions of all those countries which come under the ban of "Capitalism." The social conditions and inequalities; the psychology of the component parts which make up the population. The economic situation; their national and international policies. The temperamental peculiarities; not to mention the geographic conditions, which so often determine much of the success or failure of any revolutionary or reformatory movement.

Being conscious of my limitations, and of the difficulties of such a subject, because of the cardinal fact that all the data must of necessity be second hand, at least.

I have, however, attempted over several months of reading of numerous books and articles to obtain a conception of the whole subject in both its ideal and practical bearing, in its international and national aspects.

All this material I am now attempting to assemble and

condense to form a comprehensive background into which may be filled the many details with which you are familiar.

I have not attempted to discuss at length the various problems. But rather by a review of the facts, suggested lines of thought for your further development.

Naturally the first question that we ask is, what is Bolshevism? What does the term connote in all its parts? (The actual historical accident by which this word came into existence I will explain later.)

I will now attempt to give a brief history of the apologetics and doctrines which are, we must remember, not a sporadic result of the abnormal conditions brought about by the World War, but the result of a gradual and systematic development, covering a great number of years.

There are two aspects of Bolshevism. That which is International and that which is Russian. These two aspects I want to consider separately. First the International, which will cover the intellectual development of the doctrines in Europe, which have been the ideal which the Communists of Russia hope to reach and by which they hoped to make Russia a Eutopia.

Let us therefore consider Bolshevism in its European aspect, which is known as Revolutionary Syndicalism.

It is a moot question whether this can any longer be called Socialism, although it is from Socialism that it was born.

It would seem that from 1917 the attitude of the Revolutionary Syndicalists has been expressed by the saying of Lenin, when he exhorted his followers to throw away "the dirty linen" of Socialism and unfurl the banner of Communism.

Both of the views, however, Revolutionary Syndicalism and Reformativ Socialism are to be found in Marx (who gave definite cohesion and form to the earlier doctrines of St. Simon, Fournier and Owen), and for many years the Reformativ reading was accepted and was the one which was adopted by the Conference at Hanover in 1899.

The difference between the two is a difference in method. Reformativ Socialism is opposed to force as a method of ob-

taining social reconstruction, believing that their ends can better be gained by peaceful penetration in the various governments—by legislation.

We will now see that the method of the Revolutionary Syndicalists is an entirely different one; and one which has proved the dominating factor in the Socialistic Conferences of the past three years.

There has been a struggle in these Conferences. Modern Socialism has gradually been overwhelmed by the fanatical, yet nevertheless effective demonstrations of the extreme Left, who have succeed in imposing their views.

What then are the outstanding principles which are expounded by the Syndicalist interpreters of Marx, and the doctrines which they have developed and which in Russia they have applied?

After the Revolution in Russia in 1905 (where we, even at that time, find Trotsky taking a prominent part), this party received a great impetus, not so much however in Russia, nor in the country of Junkerdom—Germany, but in the accomplished democracy of France.

The leaders in the movement were Georges Sorel and Eduard Berth. The heart of their Gospel was "direct action."

Eduard Berth in his "Muvement Socialiste" writes "Syndicalism transfers the idea of catastrophe from the pole of fatalism to the opposite pole of the workmen's freedom. It's principle is to arouse the proletariat from passiveness to activity." While Sorel about the same time says:

"Strikes have engendered in the proletariat the noblest, deepest and most moving sentiments that they possess. We thus obtain the 'intuition of Socialism' such as no language can give us with perfect clearness, and we obtain it as a whole."

And there is no doubt that this principle of "direct action" has been the first stone laid. On this has been reared gradually and carefully in the minds of the workingmen of the world the destructive force which has been given free play in Russia and which is gradually being prepared in other countries. That "class consciousness" which has been the direct outcome of

strikes and other united efforts that have been made by the proletariat.

Demands have been made and acceded to so that gradually their power as a party has been realized.

Pouget says in his "le Parti du Travail": "Revolution is the work of all moments, of to-day as well as to-morrow; it is continuous action, an every day fight without a truce or delay against powers of aggression and extortion."

In passing may I point out that herein lies the whole strength of the Revolutionary and Syndicalist cause. They have never ceased day or night, "in season and out of season," under conditions of imprisonment and exile, to preach their doctrines. It is a wholesome lesson to us, that if we are to counteract these doctrines and the forces they have set into motion, it must be by a similar persistency and devotion to our cause.

And out of this struggle; out of the demands made, and obtained there has developed that spirit which the Syndicalists have striven to arouse, and which differentiates it from Socialism.

It is the spirit of "class warfare."

Spargo and Aner in their work, "Elements of Socialism," say:

"By discouraging the idea of independent personal attack and fostering belief in association on class lines for the purpose of improving conditions by political and economic activity, Socialism has undoubtedly done much to make the peaceful evolutionary solution of the labour problem possible through political channels.

"It must therefore be regarded as one of the great constructive forces of modern times."

But against this conception we have the attitude of the Syndicalists as represented by M.Lagardelle, who says:

"Socialism, like any other party organism, touches the workman only as an elector, as a member of the political society mixed together with citizens belonging to other classes. On the contrary, the class organization considers him exclusively in his

quality of a working man as a member of the economic society.

"Party and class thus find themselves at opposite points of view, and their tactics can only be antagonistic."

Here we have summed up in these two statements the opposing ideas of the two parties, who as most thinking people do, while admitting the injustice of the present social conditions, would remedy them by widely different methods.

Both blame the "consciousness of class" to the present capitalistic system. But on the one hand the Socialists would use it as a lever to make the legislative assemblies rectify and ameliorate the social inequalities by law. While on the other hand the Syndicalists would do it by an absolute annihilation of all classes.

Such a conception aims to destroy not only Capitalists and the system, but it is equally opposed to Democracy, that deity which we have raised to ourselves during recent years.

M. Lagardelle writes: "The working class makes use of political Democracy only the better to destroy it."

While M. Merrheim says: "Syndicalism does not confine itself to any legal boundaries; it would contradict its very substance if it did. It breaks through every barrier, legal or illegal, which would stem its tide. Moreover, it does this not only by fits and starts, but every day."

Sorel also gives us the same principle: "Marx thought that the bourgeoisie need not be excited by the use of force. Violence gives back to the proletariat their natural weapon of the class struggle by means of frightening the bourgeoisie."

If, therefore, such a condition of violence is to be followed by the supremacy of the working class, it logically follows that the whole basis of society must be rearranged. And if the system is to be an international one, as is emphasized again and again by the Syndicalists and Socialists, then the logical outcome must be the destruction of both nation and State.

This exactly is what they aim at. War must be made not only against Classes, but also against Nation and State as existing to-day.

M. Brouilhet says: "For the Revolutionary Syndicalist the idea of native country is not necessary. It seems rather artificial, and does not correspond to his interests."

While M. T. Bled says: "The workman's Fatherland is their class; their internationalism knows no boundaries; Capitalism is for them the only enemy to fight with."

"The only legitimate war," says M. Challayes, "is the revolt of all proletarians against all capitalists."

Having, therefore, stated what their ideals are: that of Direct action, the destruction through "Class Warfare" of classes other than the working class, Nation and State, and these having become accomplished facts, they are then faced with the control and government of the heterogeneous mass they have "liberated." This is to be accomplished by a very subtle and ingenious application of a doctrine which they call "the tactics of impatience."

By this they recognize that the proletariat are an inert, unintelligent mass, incapable of ruling themselves. In the midst of the mass is an "impatient minority," who will take hold of the reins of government.

Within this minority is another minority, a "conscious minority," who will assume the dictatorship.

Lagardelle says: "Direct action presupposes an active interference by a daring minority. The mass, unweildy and clumsy as it is, must not here speak out its mind in order to start the struggle, as happens in Democracy."

"The most conscious and brave lead, the mass seeing their action, instinctively follow."

M. Brouilhet says: "The masses expect to be treated with violence, and not to be persuaded. They always obediently follow when a single man or clique shows the way."

When we look over the past four years and carefully summarize the situation in Russia, one cannot but congratulate these leaders and theorists of the Revolutionary movement upon their astute and complete knowledge of "mob psychology." Every principle has received its active application. With what

success we will see in our study of the Russian Communistic experiment.

That the war gave unwonted opportunities for the application of these principles at a much earlier period than even these visionaries expected, cannot be doubted. For they "made hay while the red sun of War was shining." They impressed with renewed effort and force principles which, on superficial thought, seemed to hold water:

1. That wars were unavoidable in a world of capitalistic production.
2. That capitalistic societies are imperialistic; they strive for annexations.
3. That the principle of "self-determination must be given free play for all oppressed nationalities."

As to the first, all of you who have read Norman Angells' "The Great Illusion" will remember that the burden of his thesis was: that capital is so involved through the system of credit, which exists between the nations of the world; that war must inevitably mean ruin. His contention, I think, has been amply proven during the War, and is making itself distinctly felt in this country through the unfavorable money exchange.

Miliukov, speaking of the "self-determination" principle, says: "The self-determination principle, if applied in its larger and more general sense, may, of course, apparently justify such a general use of the term 'Imperialism.' Great Britain may well accept as its slogan 'Imperium et Libertas.' And Russia may claim not to be imperialistic at all, but self-sufficient within her immense space of one-sixth of the world's surface. Neither one nor the other may ask for annexations. Nevertheless, both Great Britain and Russia possess some 'oppressed nationalities' annexed many centuries ago."

So much, then, for the doctrines and apologetics emphasized and propagated by the European Syndicalists. Propagated through the agency of the Revolutionary Press, and finding cohesion year by year through the various Socialist Conferences held in many capitals of Europe.

The study of the growth and divisions of these Organizations would be an interesting one. But we must confine ourselves with the brief comment that out of the struggles between the two interpretations of the Marxian doctrine there evolved the Second International. This again gave place to the extreme Revolutionaries who are now called the Third International.

Let us now turn from the theories as propounded by these Social malcontents to the particular and pragmatical consummation in Russia. Here the same Revolutionary Syndicalism we find existing under the name of Bolshevism. This name was a mere accident. In the Brussels-London Socialist Conference of 1903, the extreme Left Social Democratic Party had a majority (Bolshinstvo). As a party they now officially style themselves the "Communist party of the Bolsheviks."

In the study of this party and of Bolshevism I would wish, however inadequately, to study it from two viewpoints—the Generic and the Specific—the former dealing with the series of circumstances and conditions, the doctrines and psychology, which lead up to the second, the Specific, in this studying the actual results which have come to pass as the result of the application of these principles which we considered under the name of Revolutionary Syndicalism.

In trying to form an estimate of the early causes of this movement I found in a book by George Pitt-Rivers a view which I believe may partly explain the great problem which lies summed up in the following figures: How is it that eighty-three per cent. of the population, who are peasants, and, as we shall see, practically uninterested in the intellectual side of the Revolution—how is it possible, I say, for these to be dominated and ruled by the "Conscious minority," who are infinitesimal, for only three per cent. are proletarian, while the intelligentsia, etc., are represented by two per cent.

These forces had been set in motion as far back as 1840 and 1860. Stephen Graham, a noted authority on Russia, says: "Intelligentsia, bourgeoisie and proletariat are all products of the same family; they are all westernized Russians. Books, commerce, industry, the three boasted instruments of our civilization, have not civilized the Russians. They have de-civilized

them. But as yet Russians of this character form only a tiny fragment of the nation."

And yet it is this "tiny fragment" that has brought about the Revolution.

It is here that Pitt-Rivers' theory works in; and he sums up the situation in four heads:

1. The Revolutionary movement in Russia is a foreign exotic growth, flourishing and subsisting upon the ideas of western Socialism introduced into the agricultural community by foreign capitalists.
2. The movement found its native recruits not among the peasantry, and only to a small extent among the newly-manufactured proletariat, but predominantly among the more or less decadent anarchistic specimens of the upper classes and among the young peasants.
3. That the firmness of the governments was directed against the alien anarchist and the Jew, and that when these classes were excluded the peasantry were contented and happy, for the reason that it was the Jew who, in a country ill-equipped with the native middle class when he did penetrate into the rural community became the banker, usurer, shopkeeper and middleman, and ground the faces of the poor.
4. That it was not the tyranny of the Russian governments nor the supposed discontent of the masses which caused them to fall, but their weakness and growing incompetence and the sinister working of the Jews and international doctrinaires which finally culminated in their collapse under the appalling strain of the war.

So, springing out of these varied forces there arose the conditions which made Russia in ripe condition to receive the impress of the doctrines of these doctrinaires.

The present Dictator Lenin, himself originally subscribed to the reformatory type of Socialism, but at last he changed, and said that the conditions in Russia were unique, and only the revolutionary type would be of any avail.

You will notice the prominence that Pitt-Rivers gives to

the Jews. In support of this a letter written by Dr. Oscar Levy adds further light:

"The Jewish elements provide the driving forces both for Communism and Capitalism, for the material as well as the spiritual ruin of the world. But at the same time there is the profound suspicion that the reason for all this extraordinary behaviour may be the intense Idealism of the Jew. . . ."

He then goes on to say in a very fine passage:

"Who pretends again to have the truth, that truth about which Pontius Pilate shrugged his shoulders? Who pleaded for honesty and cleanness in politics—that honesty which brings a smile to the lips of any experienced pro-consul of to-day?

"Writers who were mostly Jews—Fried, Fernau, Latzo, Richard Grelling, the author of 'J'Accuse.' Who was killed and allowed himself to be killed for these very ideas and principles?

"Men and women of the Jewish race—from Moses to Marx, from Isaiah to Eisner, in practice and in theory, in idealism and materialism, in philosophy and in politics; they are to-day what they have always been, passionately devoted to their aims and their purposes, and ready—nay, eager—to shed their last drop of blood for the realization of their visions."

Herein lies one of the great paradoxes of the Russian Revolution. That the people who have received at the hands of Russia persecution of the most rigid type are now in turn the persecutors of the Russians. That the people who are the most ardent Communists and Socialists are yet largely the potent forces in Capitalism to-day with a large part of most of the cities owned by Jews, with financial affairs, the world over, in the hands of the Jews.

What we really see is the Gentile made the "stool-pigeon" of the Jew, and it would seem that the fate of many "stool-pigeons" in the criminal world is also the fate of the Gentiles in the world-crime which has been perpetrated.

The Jew, moreover, is the ideal agent for such a scheme as International Socialism or Syndicalism. They are the one people in the world who are a nation without a country. They

are German-Jews, Russian-Jews, English-Jews, etc. But the one lesson that we have failed to learn is that they are Jew first.

G. K. Chesterton, in his book just published called "The New Jerusalem," says:

"I wrote these first impressions in Palestine, where everybody recognizes the Jew as something quite distinct from the Englishman or the European, and where his unpopularity even moved me in the direction of his defence. But I admit that it was something of a shock to return to a conventional atmosphere in which the unpopularity is actually denied or described as persecution. . . .

"To talk of the Jew always as the oppressed and never the oppressor is simply absurd."

So through the introduction of western capital, and the new forces of mammonism and capitalism we find Russia embarked on an unknown ocean.

Gradually the movement had spread by 1862 and with marvellous rapidity, not so much among the peasants and the few proletariat, but among the students who were to become the Nihilist and Anarchists of their day.

Every excuse and every cause for discontent was fostered and magnified against the day of the great release on which the "slaves of Russia" were to be freed.

This day dawned when the Great War came upon the world.

At last the moment had arrived in 1917 when the overthrow of the rule of the autocratic Czar's became an accomplished fact.

One thing, however, we must notice: the First Revolution under Kerensky was not the work of the Reds, but of the Socialist-bourgeoisie and the commercial interests. It was only after they had prepared the ground that Lenin and his satellites, seeing their opportunity, in the hunger and discontent of the troops, came forward, overthrew the Kerensky regime in the Second Revolution, and instituted for the first time, as a

practical experiment on a nation-wide scale, the Communistic doctrines.

So much, then, for the historical side. The question still reminds of the 83%. The answer to this we must try and grasp by a study of the psychology of the three classes involved—the Masses, the Intelligensia and the Bolsheviks.

Let us first take the Masses—the 83%.

Pitt-Rivers says:

“The answer to the riddle can only be understood if we clearly distinguish between the attractiveness of the propaganda, decoy-cries and the prospect of unbridled license, which hypnotized the masses on the initial breaking-up stage.”

While Williams Adams Brown gives a splendid picture in his book “The Groping Giant.”

To sum up his conclusions. The outstanding characteristics of the peasant are those of a big, kindly, good-natured child. Three things he emphasises—their great ambition is to have “peace and land.” Their minds are those of the most elementary type of Fatalists. While the third attribute is common to all Russians. Let me give you his own words:

“The fear of the ‘isvoschik’ and his proletarian friends, who were obviously the real masters of the city of Vologda. . . . It was the first evidence I had met of the strong tendency of Russians to dislike strangers, and to question their motives and to disbelieve their words. It gave me the clue to the quality which permeates Russian life, a quality common to all classes of Russian society, in which lies much of the tragedy of Russia—the instinctive inability of the people to trust one another. The instinct to assume the worst about all with whom they come into contact.”

Perhaps it would be true to say that the Russian Revolution, like all revolutions, had its primary and first cause in the desire to obtain and secure the bread of life. Starvation is the first and real cause of all revolutions. This is a point which we ought to keep in mind, as we are ourselves being faced by the problem of unemployment.

Brown again and again found that the peasant did not

"think." That they were swayed by the last comer, who would promise that which they most earnestly desired—i.e., peace and land.

Such a combination of simple good nature, fatalism and acquisitiveness was an ideal state of mind for the astute and clever Bolsheviks to work on. Once this mass had been moved on the road to Revolution—the deed accomplished—it was comparatively easy to keep them in subjection by a reign of terror.

I will now turn for a few moments to the Intelligentsia. Of so small a number are they one can scarcely imagine that the waves from their aura would affect the nation.

While it seems comparatively easy to get some idea of the masses on the one hand and Bolsheviks on the other, it is indeed difficult to classify those unfortunate beings who come under the name of Intelligentsia, and who have been caught between the other two elements of Russian society, and crushed beyond all hope of rising for many years to come.

What constitutes the attributes whereby they become one of the hated class?

Adams Brown seemed to be unable to find a definition. One thing, however, he remarked: While the masses and the Bolsheviks undoubtedly knew what they wanted, and were united in their effort to get it, the Intelligentsia were without motive or unified resistance.

"Among the Intelligentsia," he says, "on the contrary, there was neither uniformity nor unity. The term Intelligentsia was applied to many totally different kinds of people separated by fundamental differences of training and outlook. It was generally used among the common people interchangeably with 'burgui,' and with a much broader meaning than its technical one, whose English is 'intellectual.'"

It seems to represent not only those who are born aristocrats, but all who in any way have made use of that intellectual training which has differentiated them from the lower classes.

Whatever their differences of life and outlook, they in some way or other are measured up by the Soviet and dealt with accordingly.

We cannot hold the Intelligentsia as perfect, nor the capitalists who are included among them. Nevertheless, we cannot but sympathise with these people, who have become the victims, only too often, not of their own nefarious acts, but of the system over which they had little or no control. When one thinks of all the scholars, teachers, clergy and ladies of gentle birth who have been ruined, if not murdered in the mad rush of revolution, it is with sadness at the loss of so much that was best and noblest in the Russian nation.

Neither can we fully censure the masses, who unconsciously have been made the catspaw of the Bolshevik leaders.

They were unleashed on a career of murder and bloodshed which, once freed, knew no bounds.

Faults there are, but only too often were they the result of the system. Whether Socialism, Bolshevism or Communism has proven itself to be superior to the present system remains to be examined.

There are those like Alexander Blok who condemn the Intelligentsia for past disregard of the woes of the masses.

His analysis of the Revolution comes down to the idea that the masses of the people, after generations of religious seeking, after an accumulation of hatred for the upper classes, based primarily upon envy, misunderstanding and a feeling of utter dependence, have finally risen in elemental fury, sweeping everything away.

In this explosion the place of the educated and the intellectual classes is either out of life or in the ranks of the raging mass, of the seething revolution even when what the revolution brings with it is inimical to all the ideals and all the aims of the Intelligentsia itself—even if revolution brings to the Intelligentsia destruction of its very self.

The Intelligentsia have suffered, and over them all the storms of the Red Flood have broken. True, they are now gradually being assimilated and used, those of them whom the Bolsheviks have no doubts. But it is a broken-hearted and sorrowful people who are turning their weary brains to counteract the holocaust which has come upon Russia.

What can I say about the Bolsheviks, except that they are the "impatient minority"? But first of all I would like to picture the two men who are the leaders of this debacle. They have filled a prominent place in the world's history this past three years. Towering above all the ruin and bloodshed sits that small, cold figure—Lenin. He is not a Jew, but a son of a nobleman, his real name being Vladimir Iljych Ulianov. The poet Nevyedomsky, in speaking of him during his school days, says: "At that time his character had become already set. Straightforward, cruel and utterly lacking in feeling."

Alexander Kuprin says:

"Lenin is not a genius, he is only moderately able; he is not a prophet, only an ugly shadow of a prophet; he is not a great leader, he lacks fire. The legendary fascination of a hero, he is cold and prosaic and simple, like a geometrical figure. With his whole being he is a theoretical; a passionless chess player following in the footsteps of Marx, he carries out that cruel stonelike teaching to its absurd results, and constantly tries to overstep even that limit. In his personal and intimate character there is not a single outstanding feature, they have all disappeared in political struggles and polemics, in the one-sidedness of his thought. But in ideology he is a Russian sectarian. Only those amazing seekers after God and truth—those savage interpreters of the dead letter, could have translated separate expressions in the Gospel into their monstrous ceremonies and rites—into castration, self-burning and their other atrocious practices.

Marx is supreme for Lenin. There is not a speech of Lenin's in which he does not represent his Messiah as the immovable centre of the universe. But there is no doubt that if Marx could have overlooked from there Lenin and his sectarian Asiatic Bolshevism he would have repeated again his now famous phrase, "Pardon, Monsieur, Je ne suis pas Marxiste."

He is the Dictator—the power supreme in this great country. And over this great mass of people.

Let me quote Pitt-Rivers as regards Trotsky:

"Is it without significance that Trotsky, alias Leïbadouviz Bronstein, the son of a well-to-do merchant, is an epileptic? Or is it without historical precedent that Kuprin, the well-

known Russian writer, describes him, 'this bilious and dyspeptic chemist, anarchist, spy and plotter, whose speeches are full of such phrases as "roast on a slow fire," "strangle," "inundated with blood," "cut off their heads," should be seized by a blind fate and placed in the seat of power, instead of ending his days as a Sadist in a ward for violent lunatics? The importance of Sadism as a revolutionary motive is widely recognized by psychologists. There is much evidence in the writings of revolutionaries and Syndicalists that it exists as a motive in the unconscious, at times becoming wholly conscious and very plainly articulate. As, for instance, of those worshippers of violence for the sake of violence, Georges Sorel's *Reflexion sur la violence*."

Here are pictured for us the type of men who have led, not only in the immediate past, for many years the forces which they unleashed in Russia.

Psychologically, that which is known as Sadism seems to be the factor which has worked most insistently in the minds of these men.

So named after the Counte de Sade, who in his life and writings was known for his extreme licentious cruelty. Undoubtedly the Bolshevik leaders have played upon all the worst elements in human nature. They have unbridled license and loot, thus urging the worst type of humanity to do their worst. (What more revolting and disgraceful example can we have than the murder of the Czar and his family by Yurovsky?)

We have now studied the apologetics and doctrines of the Revolutionary Syndicalists and the Bolsheviks, and touched upon the psychology of the people involved. It still remains to say something about that towards which all this has been leading. The Communist system, and the practical results of the application of the methods of this system.

As we have seen, the very essence of Communism is the "tactics of impatience" of the "conscious minority." This means and implies the dull level of the equality of the masses without individual possessions or ambitions. In complete subjection to the will of a despot. And that despot is Lenin.

Trotsky says of him, "To him the rule of Social Democ-

racy means martial law. The rule of Lenin over Democracy. He has taken to himself the role of the incorruptible Robespierre."

But Communism means more than all this. It is the return to a system, primitive and barbarous. What they advocate is regression. A return to the primitive and crude inevitably affects every department in life, especially the family.

All Communists in their desire to return to primitive Communism simply desire to return to the old tribal system. I want to consider its effect upon the family.

The earliest attempts at organization of the tribe brought about the Mother Age or Matriarchy. It was a social condition in which group or tribe make common use of the women.

It represents a period antecedent to that of the family.

The Communists in their mad desire to return to this system have placed before the eyes of the uncouth and low the idea of possession.

The experiment has been tried before. A Friar by the name of Dolinco in 1305 led a company of 3,000 men and women to the mountains of Lombardy. They lived by depredation for two years, and practiced community of property and wives.

While in 1847 the Prefectionists of Oneida in the United States, basing their theories on the teaching of the Bible, affirmed that there is no intrinsic difference between property in persons and property in things. And so commenced a Community on this basis.

It may be remarked that the great difference between these experiments and the aims of the Bolsheviks is that while the former were content to communise their own women, the Bolsheviks would communise all women, as they are nationalising all the natural contents of the country.

In 1919 this Decree was posted in Saratoff, in east Russia, by the Soviet of Kronsdat.

"Social inequalities and legitimate marriages having been a condition in the past, which served as an instrument in the hand of the bourgeoisie, thanks to which all the best species of

all the women have been the property of the bourgeoisie, the proper continuation of the human race has been prevented.

"All women, according to this decree, are exempted from private ownership, and are proclaimed to be the property of the whole nation."

What, therefore, was merely voluntary promiscuity in the earlier communism has become rape in Bolshevik Russia.

It is of little significance that the Bolsheviks have been unable to carry this common use of women into effect. The idea is part and parcel of the system. The fact that it has failed for the present in Russia is no assurance that they will not again try to implant it, after a period of education of the masses in the doctrines of Communism.

Of "State ownership," etc., and other doctrines of Communism I will say nothing further here. These will come out in our treatment of the actual conditions which have arisen in Soviet Russia.

It now remains to ask these questions, and if possible give an answer:

Now that this much-boasted system as the panacea of all social ills has come into force and has been tried, what are the practical results?

Are the people of Russia happy and liberated??

Have they ample sufficiency of all the necessities of life, with a liberal sprinkling of luxuries? Has the abolition of the ruling classes destroyed also rulers? Has the State ownership of all things given "equality" of national products, as well as "equality of opportunity"?

In preface one must say that the present social system is far from just. That the astounding inequalities, the vast distances between poor and rich in the present state of society is too appallingly obvious. And it should be the aim of every right-minded man or woman living under the system to help change and improve these conditions.

As to the sincerity of many Socialists and others like

them there can be no doubt. The doubt arises as to the efficacy of the system with which they would replace the present one.

Here we have had an attempt to impose one of these systems. And with what result?

Are the workmen free?

Dr. Haden Guest, who was Joint Secretary of the British Labour Delegates to Russia, said on his return:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is an iron dictatorship, but it is not exercised by the proletariat. The organization of Councils of Workmen, Soldiers and Peasants—the Soviet system which Trotsky has described as "the present day of democracy"—has already degenerated into rule by unrepresentative executive committees, which are subordinated to the orders of the Communists Party, and in their composition and their work they follow the decisions of this party."
"There is a dictatorship in Russia, but it is the dictatorship of the Communist Party over the rest of Russia, even more particularly a dictatorship of the executive committee of the party."

While again a document was published in the London Times, June 3, which summed up the position of the workman in these words:

"By a series of Soviet decrees workmen have been turned into bondmen, bound to whatever situation they may have been working at the time the decree was issued; bondmen, moreover, without any prospect of promotion nor any right to exchange their situation. . . . Unfortunately even the mere effort to keep the factories from closing now is, in the majority of cases, impossible, as the factory property is stolen bit by bit by the starving workmen. They barter it for the necessities of life, bread, salt, etc., to those peasants who are willing to exchange these commodities.

John Alleyne Gade, writing in the Atlantic Magazine of August, 1920, under the title of "Bolshevism from the Inside," gives a comprehensive idea of the commercial conditions obtaining under the Soviet.

"Never," he says, "has starvation or malnutrition taken

place on so huge and hideous a scale. No, not even in an Indian famine.

“Until now the lack of nourishment has, from one point of view, rendered the intelligent and educated classes so weak and pathetic that they have lost all will-power and initiative. They have no thought for anything but the pangs of hunger.”

I cannot in this short paper deal in detail with all the aspects of the situation. Many books are available which will give in detail the effect of the revolution upon all classes of Russia, as well as upon the whole social and commercial life.

The near-stagnation of commerce, transportation, the disorganization of factories, the absence of fuel, the self-centered policy of the peasants and the inflated money system, the rise of the worst kind of speculation in all the necessities of life.

In respect to the last it has been said:

“The Bolshevik government is fully aware of and fighting against the ever-growing speculation. . . . Even the little children speculate. Every once in a while the government vultures swoop down on the speculators in the Alexandrovsky Market in Petrograd and make a harvest of everything there for sale.

“Though buildings are nationalized and their sale is prohibited, the owners sell them over and over again, each new buyer basing his purchase upon the ultimate fall of the present government and the return of property to its original private ownership.”

Kameneff says: “Speculation is now destroying the very tissue of socialistic economy.” “To his humiliation and shame the proletariat has turned to retail speculation,” says Trotsky.

Not only are these prohibitions placed upon the people, but that great organ of free thought and speech, the Press, has been practically wiped out, except the Communist presses.

This has been borne witness to by Bertrand Russell, the prominent pacifist philosopher of England, himself, before his visit to Russia, a convinced Communist. He said on his return from Russia:

"There is less free speech in Russia than ever before. It is less possible for public grievances to be published."

While Dr. Haden Guest, another Socialist, said:

"It is an offence for the ordinary citizen to possess a foreign newspaper."

The more one delves into this monstrous system the more one can vision the great giant of Russia, bound and tied by a few wretched fanatics.

Blood-sodden and violent, they still strive to hold the power by a constant flow of decrees and prohibitions gradually removing the slightest semblance of liberty.

As we look on this whole nation we wonder what the outcome will be, what force will bring about the emancipation of Russia from the Red bonds by which it is having its national life crushed and mutilated.

The answers to our queries are various. Out of all this complexity it is almost impossible to obtain a simple answer, and yet three men of varying types seem to find the answer in religion and the Russian Church.

Pitt-Rivers writes:

"Religion is regarded as 'opium of the people,' and a tool of 'capitalistic domination.' The Russian Church is naturally regarded with special enmity as the embodiment and symbol of national life. . . . The Red authorities are becoming increasingly uneasy at the growth of friendly relations of the classes under the friendly influence of religion."

Boris Brasof, in an article "What Awaits Russia After the Soviet?" says: "The next thing to be considered is the spiritual force which is usually overlooked by foreign observers of Soviet Russia. This factor is the growing influence of the Russian Church. Certainly it is irony that the most materialistic experiment ever put into practice in the field of social life has been introduced among the most idealistic people in the world.

"Religious mysticism is the keynote of Russian psychology."

Again, Adams Brown, on watching a service in the cathedral at Moscow, says: "They were all believers in the Orthodox church; they were all Russians; and at that moment I saw that the bonds of religion and race were stronger than the differences of class. That there was and always would be a Russian Church and a Russian nation."

And it seems to me the answer must come from the Church of Christ. Whether it will be able to rise to this great task can only be assumed from the fact that the Church has always risen in the past. And we who have faith do believe that the Church will again rise in the present and future.

Stephen Leacock has given us in his admirable book "The Unsolved Problem of Social Justice" a summary of the conditions which has led the world into the present blind alley.

The miscalculations of Adam Smith and his school of economists have led to a deplorable state in the social spheres of the nations.

Individualism run riot seems to be the root of the trouble. The constant warfare for possession. One cannot but sympathize with those who, however erroneously, have tried to ameliorate and improve the conditions of society.

We must never forget that these doctrines and this system which we have tried to give some idea of has as its aim Internationalism.

Its propagandists are working assiduously in our own country of Canada. On all sides we find a growing concern. But a mere concern without action will be of no avail.

If we are to keep the masses from contamination we must educate them and help them.

Socialism, Communism, these are not remedies of the present conditions. They are mere social aggravations. The present system, God knows, is not perfect, but at its worst it is heaven compared to Communism as expressed in Russia at its best.

If it is true that the rank Individualism of the past one hundred and fifty years has been and is responsible for the pre-

sent turmoil, I think it is true to say that the solution must also come from Individualism. The former is the Individualism which strives to obtain to hold. The latter Individualism must be the kind that strives to obtain to give. In a word, Christianity at its best, freed from the trammels of professionalism and the mists of dogmatic theology.

Each person, a unit of the virtues summed up in these words: "That ye love one another."

From such Individualism by which each seeks to give to others, there could be no room for "Class Warfare," no need of "Direct Action," no destruction of State or Nation.

The time has come when we must educate, not the Socialist with a view to converting him, but the masses of the people, whose minds are open to conviction. They do not come to the churches. Then let the church go to them. Let us organize. Let men study the conditions; let them go to the factory and the street corners; let us with all zeal and sympathy win the masses by a mutual understanding. The classes are strangers, if not enemies, and will continue to be until we make efforts to reach them, and they understand, the broader, the happier possibilities of, not a nominal, but a real Christian Society.

The Capitalist classes must also be reached, and courage of conviction is needed, fearless denunciation of the social practices which we believe to be contrary to the spirit of Christ. The prophetic spirit of the fearless prophets of old must be revived, and men brought back to God.

Bolshevism is a danger in any country, only in so far as the Spirit of Christian fellowship has failed to permeate that country.

In closing may I suggest the creation of some organization led and manned by convinced Christians who will devote their time and energy to the fighting of these pernicious and fatal doctrines; not, however, only by argument, but by the practical example of a Christian life.

